/2 cont./

126 1. (cont.)
[101] and representations by the Karajá, I have also dealt with some by the Šavajé, a tribe which in language and culture is very closely related to the Karajá.

121 In view of the interest which ethnologists, psychologists, art historians, and cultivated circles in general display today with respect to primitive art, I felt that the exceedingly abundant material collected by me should be published separately, apart from the other results of my expedition, among which it would have fallen too far into the background.

121 I am reproducing the material as such, arranged only ac-
128 cording to certain points of view, which can be seen from the "Table of Contents," and provided with the most important explanations about the maker, the method of production, the purpose and significance of the object or figure. I hope that the individual things are defined so precisely by this means that no doubts and misinterpretations can arise, so that, in other words, anyone, whatever his position on particular theories about the development of primitive art, can work with this material on a secure basis. The article is meant simply as a straightforward publication of material. I believe that research is better served in this way than if I myself, ay an analysis of my results, had tried to assume a position on the great controversies about the development of primitive art which are being argued at the present time.

128 To make the material still more useful I am giving in the appendix /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 30-31/ a general view of the share which the two related tribes, the Karajá and Šavajé, have in it, and then also a general view of the distribution of the sketchbook drawings among the individual artists, arranged according to their ages, and finally a systematic listing of all the objects represented.

126 The objects discussed are all to be found in the Museum für
128 Völkerkunde at Leipzig. On occasion reference has been made to the objects acquired by Ehrenreich in 1888 on the Araguaia and

/2 cont./

128 126 now in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (2). I have not gone

[113]

2. Published in: Ehrenreich, "Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnography of Brazil/," Veröffentlichungen aus dem Kgl. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vol. II, Nos. 1/2, Berlin, 1891.

into any detailed comparison of my material with that brought back from the Xingu by the Von den Steinen cousins and from the Rio Negro territory by Koch-Grünberg. A general comparison [53] shows the interesting fact that the Karajá are on a significantly higher level of development artistically than those primitive tribes.

/3/

Introduction

*532 531 The artistic activity of the Karajá is limited to interior art. This is divided into free (representative) art and decorative art.

Free art here is concerned with the representation of the forms of living creatures and objects, which it reproduces in full form (plastic) or superficially (in drawings); decorative art, the adornment of objects with geometric patterns.

*532 128 In representative art we pursue the reproduction of forms plastically in different materials, whereby we pass from the most brittle (plaiting with leaves) through fairly hard (clay and wood) to the most pliable (wax). In representation by drawing we consider first the types familiar to the Indian, in sand and on gourd utensils /Cuyen/, and only then the method of reproduction in a sketchbook, foreign to him until now. Each time the development from the simplest to the most accomplished form is shown, but it is not known whether this is really the course of the development, or whether simpler forms might perhaps represent stylizations which arose at later stages, whereas the most accomplished forms are only the result of particularly high personal talent.

/3 cont./

000 forms are only the result of particularly high personal talent.

531 128 Decorative art is limited to the application of geometric patterns. These patterns, which are usually interpreted as animals, are borrowed from the plaiting technique. We shall therefore first of all look at the decorations borrowed from the plaiting technique which are on the plaited work itself, then at their transference in carving on gourd utensils, and at the same time we shall take into consideration the great number of such patterns which the Indians drew in the sketchbook for me. Only then will the other decorations, ordinarily in carving and poker work, be dealt with.

531 462 Decorative artistic activity is limited solely to the men; only they know how to execute the patterns. I have seen only a few clay tobacco pipes, two spindle whorls, some modern clay bowls, a doll's apron, and a mat which had been decorated by women. These objects show completely different patterns, though it must be noted that they have apparently taken over the clay [172] tobacco pipes and clay bowls only very recently from the Brazilians. *532 462 So here the woman stands completely behind the man. It is the same in free art. There only the stylized clay figures are made by the women, whereas the more lively figures in other material and the drawings are produced by the men. So here, too, we find 184 462 the striking pre-eminence of the man over the woman. Thus it seems as though among the Karajá the man is more artistically inclined than the woman, whereas in technical skills the two sexes are probably equal.

A. Representative Art

1. Plastic Art

*532 [524] Plastic representations are encountered frequently; they are produced only for play or as toys.

/14 cont./

a) Sand drawings 532*

were often made for explanations during our conversations; first the wavy sand of the sandbanks was simply smoothed by hand and then lines were drawn with the index finger. More delicate drawings, such as animal tracks, were made with the help of a knife or small sticks. In addition to these indented outline drawings, there are also

Fig. 98. Track of the giant anteater.

Fig. 99. Track of the desio.

Fig. 100. Track of the jabiru.

Fig. 101. Track of the duck.

Fig. 102. Woman.

Fig. 103. Crocodile.

bas-reliefs which are produced by letting sand run out of the closed hand in a fine stream. I once saw such figures in relief being made for fun, but I was told that larger sand pictures of this kind /Figs. 95 and 97 appear here/ were also executed with sand colored red and black in or near the mask hut. I received this information from only one source and was unable to confirm it through other informants or from my own observation, not the latter in particular because I traveled through the Indian territory outside of the proper dancing season. [128]

I was able to record these drawings only by means of sketches copying them, since they were usually made in the evening or at night so that photographic records were out of the question. [126]

Fig. 104. Stag hunt.

In indented figures I saw two masked dancers, ĭdjăzŏ and lădēnĭ. [535]

/23 cont./

531 In some patterns I was successful in separating pattern and background from each other; others still await satisfactory investigation.

531 These patterns are made in the following manner. On
285 baskets, fans, etc., they are produced simply through different, diagonal plaiting of the leaf pinnae. For plaiting around something with yellow cane and black embira, the black embira is plaited horizontally in spirals through the strips of cane hanging
531 down vertically. Carved decorations are made with the knife;
322 the latter is then held almost vertically to the surface to be carved, and /24/ in this way small pieces of the upper layer are chipped off broadside with the point. Finer and deeper lines are carved out naturally. In poker work a splinter of cane is used as the cautery, which is made to glow on an adjacent block of wood and then quickly pressed on the spot concerned. This is, of course, very slow work, which is practiced almost exclusively by the male sex, apparently only for fun.

531 The Indians always drew the patterns in the sketchbook on
153 their own initiative. When they had barely drawn some figures, they would already go over to the patterns. Many refused to draw figures altogether, but just treated themselves to making patterns.
531 Now it was extremely interesting to observe how the people ar-
151 ranged the patterns. As an example I shall take the one in Fig. 199 (Plate X /see p. 56/). First of all the space was divided up by four vertical lines according to exact calculation. The Indians sitting nearby already knew which decoration the artist wanted to draw, without the latter saying anything. Then each new line to be drawn was discussed in detail beforehand, criticized afterwards. Thus, the sketch was put together as a common task. During this the lines, once the people were completely clear about direction
531 and length, were drawn with a quick sure stroke. It should further
151 be noted that the Indians had observed how I wrote my remarks
153 about artist and pattern on the edge of the page, and now on their own initiative they left a narrow margin free on one side, as I ascertained through questions, so that I could write on it. They

121 /43/ Three years ago G. P. Murdock published his "World Ethnographic Sample." It goes without saying that an endeavor of this scope can only be incomplete. Now, as far as the Carajá, one of the nine tribes classified under the heading "Eastern Brazil," are concerned, the set of 30 characteristic features of this society in Murdock's attempt displays significant gaps and serious inaccuracies. It is my intention, here and now, to remedy this state of affairs as well as possible, in order to contribute from my side, while concerning myself with only one case among 565, to a fairer calculation of the human probabilities.

114 [122] [101] [127] To accomplish this task I shall use as a base the data that I was able to collect personally, in the company of my wife and aided by the National Swiss Foundation for Scientific Research, during the rainy season of 1954 to 1955 among the Carajá of the south, as well as, naturally, on the information from our predecessors in the field, Ehrenreich, Krause, Baldus, and Lipkind above all. I am using this opportunity to express the great regret that I feel every time I think of the fact that the rich materials collected by Lipkind have never been published in a satisfactory fashion. The Carajá, although they have been known for a long time, are basically misunderstood. To be fair, it must be added that they themselves do not make the task of investigators easy, and it goes without saying that under these circumstances my own contribution must remain fairly fragmentary in view of the too short period of our stay among them.

121 On the other hand I am convinced that the presentation of facts alone — allegedly pure facts — does not help us to become better acquainted with the human condition, and the second aim of my article is to present to you a first attempt at interpretation of the data concerning the Carajá kinship system, which, not without reason, was left blank in Murdock's attempt.

128 To facilitate the comparison I shall follow the framework of the columns of the "World Ethnographic Sample." The Carajá cultivate primarily tropical tubercles, although maize is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent.

433 [231] 462

/44 cont./

582 shall presently see, the difference does not have much explicative value. In the light of what has been said, it is therefore
[616] necessary to correct the categories set up by Murdock, taking
[615] into account the fact that his category "agamous (nonexogamous)
[114] moieties" should be completed by "agamous phratries" (thus: Pa or Na, La, Da; columns 10-12).

601 The kinship system of the Carajá must now be set forth for the first time, albeit briefly. Murdock left the pertinent
[114] column completely blank. /45/ With regard to male and female cousins, the terminology is of the "Hawaii" type, that is to say, my own generation contains only brothers and sisters.
●128 Before continuing, permit me to remind you that we have been able to speak of principles which govern kinship systems. In order not to fall into the trap of "verbalism" decried by Murdock, I hasten to add that it is not a question of causes, but rather of logical principles likely to operate in view of a given situation, whether these be circumstances pertaining to the environment, demography, or the fundamental type of social communication which is involved in each case. Now we could pair up these principles by forming contrasts in the manner of the linguists, contrasts whose terms exclude each other when it is a question of particular relations, but which can alternatively be combined into a whole system of kinship relations. Perhaps it would be preferable to formulate only opposite contrasts, but for the moment I will be satisfied, except in the first case, with contrasts which are clearly contradictory, and thus easier to handle, for that will suffice to attain our immediate goal of elucidating
601 the kinship system of the Carajá. There is contradiction between the classified unity of the generation and the unity of the line of filiation, there is contradiction between differentiation and nondifferentiation of the sexes, as well as of respective ages, between reciprocity and nonreciprocity of terms, finally between classificatory unity and nonunity of brothers and sisters — classificatory unity which, by the way, is not to be confused with the unity of the group of brothers and sisters classified together, nor with a denominative unity.

/4 cont./

Ar 101 1. (cont.)
the Apiaka /Apiaca/ of the upper and middle Tapajós, a true Tupi tribe. Externally they are distinguished from the latter by their tribal tattooing. Among the Apiaka of the Tapajós, Ar [302] the mouth region is tattooed black; those of the Tocantins are characterized by a blue line drawn from the outer corner of the eye to the corner of the mouth.

Ar 167 [101] [97] I met only civilized individuals, live farther in the interior. They actually proved to be the connecting link sought. They are a true Karaib tribe, closely related linguistically and somatically to the Bakairi, but only ~~a relatively~~ short time ago, about the middle of this century migrated from the upper Xingu or Tapajós region to the lower Tocantins. If migrations of such dimensions have taken place in recent times, their possibility at least cannot be ruled out for earlier periods.

C 114 From Manãos I undertook in the middle of December, 1888, a three-month trip to the primeval forest regions of the middle Purus, during which I became acquainted with three of the most important tribes of these regions. Because of unfavorable conditions, the yield in collection specimens was relatively small here. The exhaustion of my means, but in particular the poor health of my two companions, prevented extending the trip to the upper Purus regions and necessitated our return as early as the end of C 121 February. Nevertheless, this journey did contribute something toward the clarification of the distribution of peoples in these C [101] regions. Almost all the tribes there belong to the large Maipure or Nu-Aruak group (v.d. Steinen) and form the connecting link between the Nu tribes of Guiana and Colombia and those of Bolivia and Mato Grosso. Ascertaining this fact has substantially simplified the confused ethnographic picture of central South America.

C ● 128 The following presentation is therefore devoted to the Karaya and the Purus tribes of the Yamamadi, Ipurina, and Paumari /Paumary/. All the other ethnological observations and inquiries, as well as all of the linguistic and anthropological material, will be reserved for special publications.

/iii/ Foreword

121 [122] In the year 1908, under the auspices of the city of Leipzig, I undertook an ethnographic research expedition into central Brazil, the purpose of which was the scientific investigation, with the most modern methods and instruments, of the Indian tribes visited, as well as the salvaging of visible examples of their cultural life for the Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde. Its [101] goal was the region of the middle Araguaya /Araguaia/, between the 15th and 9th degrees, southern latitude, with the Indian tribes of the Karajá /Caraja/, Šavajé /Javahe/, Tapirapé, and Kayapó /Cayapó/.

114 The expedition set out on 29 January 1908 and returned to Leipzig on 7 February 1909. The program was, by and large, carried out; only the proposed advance to the west had to be cut short because of insurmountable geographical difficulties.

126 Abundant material in the form of observations of all kinds, photographs and phonographic recordings, sketchbook drawings, etc. was brought back. The ethnographic collection, containing more than 1,100 specimens, has been handed over to the Museum 113 für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig. Of my findings I have published up 126 to now only reproductions of the dance masks of the Karajá Indians, in connection with a description of the use of masks by this tribe (in the Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Volume 3, Leipzig, 1910), as well as a study of the art of the Karajá Indians (in the Bässler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 1, Berlin, 1911), in which the material collected by me on the artistic activities of the Indians in the plastic arts and drawing was reproduced.

●128 All the rest of the material is now to be presented to the public here.

As a first part, and before the actual results, I am giving a report on the expedition /the first part is omitted in the translation/. I regard this as very important; for the findings of the expedition can be properly evaluated only if one knows how they were obtained, in other words, the conditions under which the studies were made. Thus, the travel report gives the external course

128/iv/ of the journey and, above all, deals in detail with life with the Indians, for it is only from this description that the research possibilities may be noted, especially the manifold restrictions to which one is subject, much against one's will. A brief cultural survey of the individual Indian tribes will be given, as well as all kinds of psychological and other material of general interest, which could not have been handled in this detailed and directly effective manner in the second part. I trust that I have thereby succeeded in delineating as faithful a picture of the life and ideas of these Indians as is possible. The report then, in brief outline, will include a survey of the geographical conditions of the areas traveled through, the method of travel, the cultural condition of the country, and will thus probably be able to offer all kinds of new things and give future travelers important pointers.

The second part, which deals with the findings, is thought of more as a reference work. I regard as most important the presentation of the material by means of illustrations and the addition of the necessary notes, examined and worked on from the scientific point of view and compared with the material from this region hitherto available. This has resulted in a strict division into those points that were personally observed, several times or only once, and those based merely on information. In my opinion, this division cannot be applied strictly enough if errors are not to creep in, which will then continue to be passed on. I have dealt with some data, which seemed very uncertain to me, in footnotes, in order to give subsequent researchers hints for further investigation. I believe that I am serving scholarship best by publishing the material by itself and only as such. For, in this way it remains permanently utilizable. To be sure, this method, which makes no effort to solve problems and to prove far-reaching relationships, is regarded by some people as "antiquated," but I regard it as the only proper one, in order to determine the scientific value of every statement and thus provide sound material, which alone makes it possible for us to further our knowledge. For this reason I am merely skirting the question of the position of the Karajá with regard to the rest of the Indian tribes; in order to solve this major problem,

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/iv cont./

121 comprehensive preliminary studies are required, since almost
128 all comparative studies in South American ethnography are as yet lacking. It will therefore be reserved for a later publication. I know that with this kind of self-limitation I am certain to have the approval of many of my colleagues.

122 Wherever I was, here at home or over in Brazil, the expedition found extensive help and support among people willing to assist us, /v/ and I do not wish to fail to express my warmest thanks to all of them. This thanks is owed first of all to the Council of the City of Leipzig and to the Leipzig City Council Board for the willingness with which they put at my disposal the means for the expedition, as well as to Herr Consul Dr. Herrmann Meyer, who was kind enough to make available a large sum for the enterprise to insure its subsequent successful completion and to assist me in an advisory and an active capacity with regard to the equipment. I owe equal thanks to Herr Prof. Dr. Weule and Herr W. v. d. Steinen for assistance and advice in working out the plan and assembling the scientific and personal equipment, and also to Herr Privy Councilor Prof. Dr. Hans Meyer for the use of instruments and rifles. No less effective was the assistance which my expedition found in Brazil itself. First of all, thanks are owed to the Imperial German authorities, especially to the Ambassador, Baron v. Reichenau, then to the gentlemen of the Consulate in Rio de Janeiro and to the Councilor of the Embassy Flügel in S. Paulo. They all gave me their assistance and procured for me extensive privileges from the Brazilian central government as well as the governments of the individual states, for which I should also like to express here my profound gratitude to these governments. Equal thanks are owed to our German countrymen, Herr Marxsen of Rio, Herr Naschold of S. Paulo, and Herr Ockinghaus of Goyaz /Goiás/, who, in an unselfish and devoted manner, supported me in every way and gave me the most valuable pointers which alone made it possible for me to carry out my entire journey according to schedule. And finally, but no less cordially, I must thank my camaradas who so willingly took upon themselves all the strain and effort, the German Adam, the

/261 cont./

7. Weapons for War, Hunting, Fishing.

128 In order not to disrupt the survey of the manifold forms of these implements by arranging them subordinately into individual groups according to use, I shall discuss them together here. This has already been referred to above under hunting and fishing. A brief survey of the distribution according to purpose might come first.

411 Clubs, as well as bows and arrows with bamboo blade points, serve as weapons of war. Lances and bows and arrows with wooden points and with bamboo blade points serve for hunting. For fishing, bows and arrows with small bone points added on are used exclusively. Sport is practiced with bows and arrows and the throwing board with arrows. Other, perhaps previously customary weapons are the pellet-bow /Kugelbogen/, the sling (?), the boomerang (?). Thus, bows and arrows play the chief role. Everything else is far behind them.

/262/ Bow [w(ă)ž(ĭ)ūhădĕ] and arrow (ŭŏhŭ) are usually made by each one for himself. They are always taken along on boat trips, and, indeed, the most diverse kinds of arrows (war, hunting, and fishing arrows) are taken along.

For shooting, the bow is held vertically (Pl. 56, Ill. 1). The arrow rests on the bow between it and the second finger of the left hand, on the bowstring between the first and second fingers of the right hand, while the rest of the fingers draw the bowstring back. In the stretching, the arrow is drawn against the shoulder.

411 526 Shooting from the feet is done as a sport. I did not observe it myself; it was described to me as follows. The men lie on the ground and stretch their feet up close together. The bow lies across the soles of the feet; the bowstring is drawn with the hands toward the chest. Thus they shoot upward. The bow, of course, likewise flies off their feet; the recoiling bowstring is said to cause sharp pain in the feet (1).

[191 013]

1. In this connection cf. the same custom among

/336 cont./

I saw an umbilical hernia only once, in the case of a boy.

I did not learn anything about bloodletting, which Ehrenreich reports.

Scarification is very common; almost all Indians bear the scratch scars from it on upper arms and thighs. I was unable to observe anything about the procedure, which Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 33) describes. Concerning the apparatus used for this, see above, page 109, Ill. 51.

Ill. 187.
Bone for cauterizing wounds.

Of illnesses for which the cure is not known to me, I saw a blind girl, a man blind in one eye, and a boy with dropsy, as well as a man whose legs were atrophied up to his knees and who was able to move forward only by crawling on hands and knees.

Ehrenreich reports ("Beiträge," page 32) that in the morning they induce vomiting by inserting a charred taquara rod into their throats, in order to empty the stomach in this way. He even brought back such sticks (Berlin 3964). I never observed this custom, but, as related above, simply heard that husbands induce vomiting artificially during the couvade (see page 273).

In the following I shall discuss the other illnesses insofar as I obtained information about them; I shall stress in particular observed cases of illness.

In case of snake bite the affected limb is tied up and some pounded dõãhĩ̃ root is put on it.

There are very many remedies for indigestion and intestinal disorders. For indigestion three different roots are used. Either one pounds the mõnã̃ root (in Brazilian allegedly murizí), mix

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

Morning having come, the remainder of our flotilla soon appeared, and the Karayá became more and more friendly. We induced a few of them to go to their little cornfield across the river to get us some green corn and pumpkins. While awaiting their return, we were entertained by another exciting event. One of two or three Karayá men who were insane and haunted the wilds distant from the village, which they made an unwelcome visit to from time to time, suddenly appeared. Nearly all the men of the village were absent, having scattered off to hunt and fish, as is their custom. When the lunatic burst suddenly into view, the women and children were instantly stricken with panic. Amid wild shouting and screaming, chattering and jabbering, a grand rush was made for the canoes, of which there is one for each family; and as the women ran they caught up the children that were too young to care for themselves, and also grabbed up clay pots and other destructible objects, tumbled everybody and everything into the dugouts, then paddled frantically out into the stream. Soon, the mad savage came into the encampment, armed with a large bow and arrows and a heavy killing club; and amused himself by entering the huts and emerging through the roof; or, entering by breaking through the roof and passing out through the established opening. And while going from hut to hut, he shattered clay pots and pans with a heavy blow from his club, besides slaying parrots and macaws in the same manner. As he took turns around the village, he shot his arrow again and again high in the air in advance, taking it up each time as he arrived where it fell. Seeing him doing this, and fearing that we might become a target for his archery, we followed the example of our savage brethren and pushed out into the stream. But he did not appear to take any notice of us, nor of any one, and seemed to be continually muttering and moaning. He did not stay long in the village but was soon swallowed up again in the forest, and the chattering, jabbering, excited horde in the canoes returned to shore.

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